

The most comprehensive intelligence we have, the National Intelligence Estimate and the latest Pentagon report, tells us that Iraq had descended into a state of civil war. Over 3,000 Americans have died, and hundreds of thousands, some even say up to 1 million citizens of Iraq, have lost their lives in this unnecessary conflict.

And while we are telling our veterans of this war, the elderly, the poor, and the sick that there is no room in the budget for them, the American people have spent over \$400 billion on a failed policy. We cannot do more of the same. Mr. Speaker, violence begets violence. It does not lead to peace.

President John F. Kennedy once said, "Those who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolution inevitable." My greatest fear is that the young people of Iraq and of the Middle East will never forget this war. My greatest fear is they will grow up hating our children and our children's children for what we have done. Mr. Speaker, the Bible is right. Even a great nation can reap what it sows.

Nothing troubles me more than to see the young faces of these soldiers who have been led to their death.

□ 1945

Some are only 18, 19, 21, 22, 23. It is painful; it is so painful to watch. Sometimes I feel like crying and crying out loud at what we are doing as a Nation and what this administration is doing in our name. Our children do not deserve to die as pawns in a civil war.

They do not deserve to pay with their lives for the mistakes of this administration. They never had a chance.

When I was their age, when I was 23 years old, I was leading the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, soon to speak in Washington on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, but then we were involved in a nonviolent revolution to transform the soul of America, to create a beloved community.

Forty years ago, I was there in New York City in Riverside Church when Martin Luther King, Jr., gave one of the most powerful speeches he ever made against the war in Vietnam. If he could speak today, he would say this Nation needs a revolution of values that exposes the truth that war does not work. If he could speak today, he would say that war is obsolete as a tool of our foreign policy.

He would say there is nothing keeping us from changing our national priority so that the pursuit of peace can take precedence over the pursuit of war.

He would say we must remove the causes of chaos, injustice, poverty and insecurity that are breeding grounds for terrorism. This is the way towards peace.

As a Nation, can we hear the words of Gandhi, so simple, so true, that it is either nonviolence or nonexistence? Can we hear the words of Martin Luther King, Jr., saying that we must learn to

live together as brothers and sisters or perish as fools?

Tonight I must make it plain and clear that as a human being, as a citizen of the world, as a citizen of America, as a Member of Congress, as an individual committed to a world at peace with itself, I will not and I cannot in good conscience vote for another dollar or another dime to support this war.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California (Mr. DREIER) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. DREIER addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

A FAILED STRATEGY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. DEFAZIO) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. DEFAZIO. Mr. Speaker, 4 years ago, Vice President CHENEY, on the looming war in Iraq, of which he was a principal architect, he and his staff are responsible for the manipulation and manufacturing of intelligence that misled people into believing there was a threat of weapons of mass destruction or there was some ties to 9/11. Neither of those things was true. Vice President CHENEY said we will, in fact, be greeted as liberators. I think it will go relatively quickly. Weeks, rather than months, said Vice President CHENEY, and he still does not believe that he was wrong.

He is still a principal architect of the surge, of an escalation of the war in Iraq, of continuing a war without end, a war that President Bush said last November it will be up to the next President to determine when U.S. troops might come home.

A failed strategy, a strategy that fails our troops. Our troops have done all that we have asked and more under difficult conditions. They started with inadequate equipment, and Congress had to push the administration to give them the equipment they needed. They have been put on brutal rotations, stop/loss orders, and they have done more than was asked.

But the leadership has failed. Donald Rumsfeld is gone. He should have gone a very long time ago. Vice President CHENEY is still there pulling the strings. We will be greeted as liberators, he said.

Then the President two months later said major combat operations have ended, 1st of May. Nearly 3,000 American troops have died since the President gave that speech. Over 12,000 have been seriously wounded, very seriously wounded; and yet their answer is more of the same, stay the course, to escalate the conflict. They will not engage in meaningful diplomacy, and they will not change direction in Iraq. Their strategy will not bring a successful end to this war.

They are now again trying to tie it to 9/11 and al Qaeda. Yet they are contradicted, in fact, by the Director of National Intelligence, a Bush appointee. When he was asked, Mike McConnell, if al Qaeda would establish itself in Iraq and they would launch attacks from there, I would not go so far as to say al Qaeda would necessarily believe that. They want to reestablish their base and their objective would be in Afghanistan.

Remember Afghanistan? Remember Osama bin Laden? Remember 9/11? Remember the Taliban? They are still out there. They are planning and plotting. Afghanistan is going in a bad direction because the President diverted our attention, our troops, our resources away from a battle that was supported by all the major nations in the world to eradicate those who had attacked us so grievously on 9/11 into a discretionary war in Iraq, and still, the President would put the emphasis on Iraq.

His National Security Adviser says this is a charade what they would do in the House of Representatives, a charade. If it is a charade, why are they fighting so hard? For the first time, Congress is going to exert its constitutional responsibility as a third and co-equal branch to say enough failed leadership is enough and we want a new direction.

The Speaker came to the well earlier and laid that out in detail, what that new direction would be, and this bill that we will vote on later this week would move us in that new direction. That is not a charade. That is the first meaningful challenge to the failure of leadership by Vice President CHENEY and George Bush that have put that region at risk, that has put American troops in the middle of a civil war, which is now admitted by the Pentagon.

We did not go there to be referees in the middle of a 1,400-year-old sectarian conflict in a civil war. The Iraqis are going to have to resolve those issues themselves.

I wrote to the President 2 years ago February and said you need to set meaningful timelines to force the Iraqis to come together and begin to resolve their differences. They still do not want to do that.

Americans should not be the surrogates. We should not be in the middle. Our troops should not be in the middle.

This bill is extraordinarily important. Yes, the President might veto it, but we are going to challenge him again and again and again until we get a new direction that better serves our country, our troops, that region and the world.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. BURTON) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. BURTON of Indiana addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

AIR TRAFFIC CONTROLLERS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York (Mrs. MCCARTHY) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mrs. MCCARTHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, as you have heard our colleagues coming down to the well and talking passionately on the anniversary of the Iraq war and the debate that will go later on in this week and a vote that will come on to the floor of the House, I think that this is what certainly the American people want to see; but tonight, Mr. Speaker, I also want to talk about something else.

We in Congress must keep our eyes and ears open on all things that are happening around us; and today I want to talk about the tens of thousands of Federal Aviation Administration employees that are working without a contract.

Most of these workers are represented by the National Air Traffic Controllers Association, Professional Airways System Specialist, and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

The FAA under the Bush administration has attacked the collective bargaining process. The FAA has not implemented a single negotiated and ratified contract with any of its contract unions. FAA employees need a fair collective bargaining process restored.

Just as this House gave collective bargaining rights to TSA employees in the 9/11 bill, which was the right thing to do, we must do no less for the employees of the FAA. Let me be very clear on this point. Our air traffic controllers do not have a contract with the FAA.

The FAA imposed work and pay rules on these individuals last September. There is no Federal law that recognizes imposed work and pay rules as a contract. Morale among FAA employees is extremely low. Retirements are far exceeding FAA's planning. Fatigue among those employees who remain is a major concern, and these are all direct effects of the unilaterally imposed work rules.

In 2003, there were over 15,000 air traffic controllers. At the end of 2006, there were barely 14,000. Of the 14,000 working today, almost 2,000 of them are trainees and not fully certified. At the same time, and by no means by coincidence, operational errors are on the rise at the FAA's busiest facilities, including Atlanta-Hartsfield and the Southern California TRAY-CON.

Current FAA projections are that by the year 2010, which is only a few years away, 40 percent of the air traffic control workforce will have 4 years or less on the job.

This House has a duty to these individuals to a fair process. That is all they are asking for, nothing more, nothing less.

Mr. Speaker, a lot of people do not understand the job that air traffic controllers have, yet they have the control of the thousands and thousand of lives

on a daily basis. Every single day that people fly, it is the air traffic controllers that are basically controlling the skies to make us safe.

And being that we are talking about 9/11, think about what our air traffic controllers did on that day. They brought down thousands and thousands of planes without one incident. They saved so many lives, and yet here the administration is taking away the right for them to earn a decent pay.

The pressure that is up in those towers is unbelievable. I have spent time there just to see what that job was like. They are not asking for more or less. All they are asking for is a contract.

This House has a duty to make sure that those workers have what is due them.

REPORT ON RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 1227, GULF COAST HURRICANE HOUSING RECOVERY ACT OF 2007

Mr. MCGOVERN, from the Committee on Rules, submitted a privileged report (Rept. No. 110-53) on the resolution (H. Res. 254) providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 1227) to assist in the provision of affordable housing to low-income families affected by Hurricane Katrina, which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Ms. Curtis, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate has passed without amendment a concurrent resolution of the House of the following title:

H. Con. Res. 20. Concurrent resolution calling on the Government of the United Kingdom to immediately establish a full, independent, and public judicial inquiry into the murder of Northern Ireland defense attorney Patrick Finucane, as recommended by Judge Peter Cory as part of the Weston Park Agreement, in order to move forward on the Northern Ireland peace process.

The message also announced that the Senate has passed a joint resolution and a concurrent resolution of the following titles in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S.J. Res. 5. Joint resolution proclaiming Casimir Pulaski to be an honorary citizen of the United States posthumously.

S. Con. Res. 14. Concurrent resolution commemorating the 85th anniversary of the founding of the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association, a leading association for the 1,300,000 United States citizens of Greek ancestry and Philhellenes in the United States.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DOGGETT) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. DOGGETT addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

LACK OF POLITICAL PROGRESS IN IRAQ

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California (Ms. WOOLSEY) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. WOOLSEY. Mr. Speaker, last week the New York Times reported that Iraq is falling well short of the political progress they were supposed to have made by now. Still no constitutional reform. Still no local elections. Still no final action on a law governing distribution of oil revenues. Still no reversal of the de-Baathification laws.

The Bush administration is now saying that their military escalation needs time to work and that these political goals will not be met until the end of the year.

I think it is clear what is going on here. What we have is another tactic by the White House in an attempt to run out the clock until January of 2009 when they can hand over the reins and make Iraq look like someone else's problem.

The President has said that the military commitment to Iraq is not open-ended; yet all evidence is to the contrary.

□ 2000

The supporters of this war, a group whose numbers are dwindling by the day, tell us the next 6 months are critical. This really is the last chance for success. Time and time again, deadlines are established and not met, but there are no consequences, nor is there accountability. I am of the belief that the Iraqi Government won't get its act together until it is forced to govern on its own, until it is no longer propped up by the presence of more than 150,000 American soldiers.

As it is now, as long as we continue with this military occupation, Iraqis have absolutely no incentive to push for democratic reform. As the Times article indicated, the President has waved off these concerns, accusing those of us who want to apply deadlines, pressure of being part of a culture of instant results.

Instant results? I am sorry, the President has had 4 years and more than \$400 billion to make this work. Besides, it is this administration that assured us we would be greeted as liberators, that democratizing Iraq would be a cinch, that there would be hardly any sacrifice at all. Now that they have turned out to be monumentally wrong, they are wanting to know why we are demanding answers 4 years later.

I, for one, am tired of being told to be patient, especially when this body is asked to write another enormous check for this war, especially when my country is becoming a global pariah, especially when we learn that our Iraq policy has increased the threat of terrorism, especially when Americans are dying by the thousands, and those lucky enough to make it home alive